



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

## THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

The first annual meeting of this committee was held in New York, February 14th to 16th, 1905. Scarcely a year elapsed before it was deemed advisable to hold another national convention. The second annual meeting was called to meet in the city of Washington, December 8th to 10th, 1905, and the demand for the public discussion of the subjects with which it was to deal made it necessary, before the Program Committee had completed its labors, to arrange for two supplementary sessions, one in the city of Philadelphia, on December 7th, at the Witherspoon Hall, and the other in the city of Chicago, on December 16th, in Sinai Temple. Still another meeting was held in Milwaukee on the night of December 18th, which really constituted a third supplementary session, although the proceedings of the Milwaukee meeting have not been included in the official report.

The following program for the entire annual meeting was finally arranged and carried out:

### PROGRAM OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

New Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.

December 8th, 9th and 10th, 1905.

Two supplementary sessions of the annual meeting held in Philadelphia and Chicago, on December 7th and 16th, respectively.

General topic of the annual meeting:

CHILD LABOR A MENACE TO INDUSTRY, EDUCATION, AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

First session, Friday December 8th, 3 P. M.

Presiding Officer, Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy.

Topic: Recent Legislation and Efforts to Restrict Child Labor in the United States.

1. Address of Welcome.

Hon. Henry B. F. Macfarland, Commissioner of the District of Columbia.

2. "The Menace of Child Labor."

Felix Adler, Ph.D., Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee.

3. "The Progress and Outlook of the Movement Against Child Labor."

Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D., Secretary of the National Committee.

## 4. "Child Labor in the Cotton Industry of the Southern States."

A. J. McKelway, D.D., Assistant Secretary of the National Committee.

Second session, Friday, December 8th, 8 P.M.

Presiding Officer, Felix Adler, Ph.D., Leader of the Society for Ethical Culture, Professor of Political and Social Ethics, Columbia University, and Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee.

Topic: A Symposium on the Evils of Child Labor and Practical Legislative Remedies.

## 1. "Some Arguments Against Child Labor."

John Graham Brooks, Cambridge, Mass., President of the American Social Science Association.

## 2. "The Federal Government and the Working Children."

Mrs. Florence Kelley, Secretary of the National Consumers' League.

## 3. "Child Labor in the Coal Mines."

Owen R. Lovejoy, Assistant Secretary of the National Committee.

Saturday, December 9th, 9 A.M.—Joint executive meeting of the National and State Child Labor Committees. Reports from the State Chairmen and representatives of State Committees.

11 A.M.—The President of the United States received the members of the National Committee and their guests at the White House.

Third session, Saturday, December 9th, 3 P.M.

Presiding Officer, Dr. George M. Kober, Chairman of the Citizens' Child Labor Committee of the District of Columbia.

Topic: New Legislation, with Special Reference to the Needs of the District of Columbia.

## 1. "Child Labor at the National Capital."

Hon. Charles P. Neill, Ph.D., United States Commissioner of Labor.

## 2. "A Model Child Labor Law for the District of Columbia."

S. W. Woodward, of Woodward & Lathrop, Washington, D. C.;  
Henry J. Harris, Ph.D., Secretary of the Citizens' District Child Labor Committee.

## 3. "Child Labor and the Attitude of Organized Labor."

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor.

Sunday, Decembr 10th.—The churches of Washington very generally responded to the request that this day be especially observed as Children's Day, and that at least at one service reference be made to the work being done to free children from premature toil and its evil effects. In several of the churches an entire service was devoted to this subject, and addresses made by pastors and members of the National Committee and others identified with work for children.

SUPPLEMENTARY SESSIONS.

Philadelphia, December 7th, 8 P. M.—Joint meeting of the National and Pennsylvania Child Labor Committees, held under the auspices of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Presiding Officer, L. S. Rowe, Ph.D., President of the Academy.

Topic: The Protection of Children.

1. "The Menace of Child Labor."

Felix Adler, Ph.D.

2. "Some Results of the Recent Child Labor Law in Pennsylvania."

Mary E. Richmond, Secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity.

3. "Child Labor—A National Problem."

Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D.

4. "Child Labor in the Coal Mines."

Owen R. Lovejoy.

Chicago, Ill., Sinai Temple.—Saturday, December 16th, 8 P. M.

Presiding Officer, Hon. Charles S. Deneen, Governor of Illinois.

Topic: The Scope and Progress of the Child Labor Movement.

Opening remarks by Dr. Emil C. Hirsch.

1. "Menace of Child Labor."

Felix Adler, Ph.D.

2. "Some Results of Recent Child Labor Legislation in Illinois."

Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago.

3. "Child Labor—A National Problem."

Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D.

4. "Parental Responsibility for Child Labor."

Graham Taylor, Warden, Chicago Commons.

5. "The Wisconsin Child Labor Law."

Edward W. Frost, Chairman of the Wisconsin State Child Labor Committee.

The first meeting held in Philadelphia was under the auspices of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, whose invitation brought together a most distinguished audience of at least twelve hundred people. President Rowe, in opening the meeting, referred sympathetically to the work of the National Committee, and pointed out what movements of this kind stood for in our national life. The addresses of Mrs. Kelley, Professor Lindsay and Mr. Lovejoy are printed in full in this volume. That of Prof. Adler will probably be printed later in pamphlet form by the National Committee. Miss Mary E. Richmond, Secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, gave a most clear and succinct account of the organization and work of the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee, and the arduous labor necessary before the new child labor law in Pennsylvania, approved May 2, 1905, was possible.

The provisions of this law, especially those with reference to the rather complicated requirements for employment certificates for children between fourteen and sixteen, were explained, and the necessity pointed out for the more vigorous prosecution of the violators of the law and for more strenuous efforts on the part of the Department of Factory Inspection. This meeting was followed by an informal reception tendered to the officers and members of the National Child Labor Committee by the American Academy.

The first regular session of the annual meeting was held at the New Willard Hotel, in Washington, on Friday afternoon, December 8th. From four to five hundred people were assembled in the beautiful auditorium on the tenth floor of the hotel. The Washington Committees had planned well every detail for the success of the meetings, and to these committees, composed of the following persons, is due much of their success:

*Committee on Arrangements*—Dr. George M. Kober, *Chairman*; Mrs. Joseph Weeks Babcock, Professor Alexander Graham Bell, Aldis B. Browne, John W. Douglass, Mrs. Fred T. Dubois, Mrs. Charles W. Fairbanks, Mrs. Jacob H. Gallinger, Mrs. John M. Gitterman, Henry J. Harris, A. Lisner, Mr. and Mrs. Henry B. F. Macfarland, John R. McLean, Charles W. Needham, Charles P. Neill, Mrs. Robert L. O'Brien, Gifford Pinchot, Mrs. H. T. Rainey, George W. Scott, Dr. Z. T. Sowers, General George M. Sternberg, Professor C. W. A. Veditz, B. H. Warner, Mr. and Mrs. Henry L. West, Mr. and Mrs. S. W. Woodward.

*Finance Committee*—S. W. Woodward, *Chairman*; M. E. Ailes, C. J. Bell, Emil Berlimer, John Joy Edson, Martin A. Knapp, H. T. Newcomb, John B. Sleman, Jr., B. H. Warner, Simon Wolf.

*Press Committee*—Charles F. Weller, *Chairman*; William E. Curtis, Henry J. Harris, A. Maurice Low, G. A. Lyon, Robert L. O'Brien, Edgar D. Shaw, H. M. Suter, Jr., H. Parker Willis.

Secretary Bonaparte, representing the President's Cabinet, opened this meeting with a most earnest and sincere endorsement of the movement to abolish child labor. In appropriate words, he characterized the evils of child labor as among the most serious blemishes on our social and industrial life, and bade the National Committee God-speed in the task to which it had addressed itself. After these opening words from Secretary Bonaparte, the Hon. Henry B. F. Macfarland, representing the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, gave the following address of welcome:

"No one could be more welcome to the national capital than you who come in the interest of the children of our country. Their appeal to our hearts is as strong as ever. All the world loves a child, as the celebration of Christmas will soon attest once more, even though all the world may not love a lover. All right minded fathers and mothers want their own children to have every advantage in life, and all right minded men and women broaden out this feeling to take in all children. We want the child to have full childhood. The 'vision splendid' fades all too quickly into the common day. The only true liberty, equality and fraternity, childhood's exclusive possession, turn all too soon into our common living. Moreover,

this economic age begins to see the economic necessity for protecting children. Not only does Mrs. Browning's 'Cry of the Children' quicken our heartbeats, but it quickens our minds with the thought of the economic waste of economic roots without which we cannot have economic fruits. Stunted children make stunted citizens. And stunted citizens make a stunted state. All our material wealth would be dearly purchased at the price of the labor of the children. And in a few generations we would lose not only that wealth, but our national life. Hence, under the compelling demand of the new industrial civilization, with its great and growing cities, comes the new legalization for the protection of child labor, which is fundamental to the protection of all labor and to the preservation of society. The District of Columbia is not an industrial or manufacturing community, no large number of children are employed here, and the more serious evils found elsewhere do not exist. But prevention is better than remedy, and we seek a law which shall be a model and shall take us out of the black list of states and territories which have no child labor laws. The Commissioners of the District of Columbia have once more asked Congress to enact a bill drafted by them on the model approved by your committee, and are hopeful that it will be passed at this session of Congress, with any amendments that may be deemed necessary."

The addresses at this session following those of Secretary Bonaparte and Mr. Macfarland were given by Professor Adler, Professor Lindsay and Dr. McKelway. Dr. McKelway's admirable paper appears in full elsewhere in this volume. Those of Professors Adler and Lindsay will probably be printed later in separate pamphlet form by the National Committee. At the second session, held on Friday evening, after a few appropriate remarks by the chairman, Dr. Adler, three addresses were delivered, by Dr. Brooks, Mrs. Kelley and Mr. Lovejoy, all of which appear in full in this volume. A telegram was received from Mr. Gompers announcing that he was detained in New York, and his address, which was to have been a part of the evening's program, was postponed until Saturday afternoon, at which time his telegram announced he would be able to be with us. The addresses at the third session are all printed in full.

The three introductory addresses at the three sessions held in Washington by the chairman of the National Committee, Professor Adler, were as follows:

"Traveling abroad in Europe a year ago I was visiting the estates of a distinguished nobleman in Prussia. He was explaining to me the classification of labor on the estates. The skilled labor he said is done by experts, expert foresters and gardeners, the less skilled work is done by apprentices, and the hard work is done by women. I shuddered at the thought, but what he said is a fact.

"Perhaps in traveling through Germany on the train looking out through the window you, too, may have seen women stooping in the fields, digging and doing the hard work. And there is a well-known story about a peasant and his wife who came to a certain stream which had to be forded and the

woman stepped into the stream and carried the man across on her shoulders like a beast of burden. Now, we shudder at that, and say it is inhuman, it is un-American. But we, in our country, have allowed the little child to become a beast of burden and the adult to sit upon his shoulders and be carried across the stream.

"It is a strange fact which we have got to admit that in this land of freedom and humanitarianism, slavery has flourished, human slavery. Explain it as you will, this country which proudly boasts to be the most humanitarian in the world had for years and years this unenviable pre-eminence in wickedness. And it is this same humanitarian country of ours, this same humanitarian republic, that allows this modern form of slavery, child's labor, the most pitiful of all. Of the details there will be others to speak, and of the arguments. Indeed, I cannot help feeling every time that this matter is argued as if it were sheer humiliation to argue it, to argue and to prove that a little child of ten years or twelve years, or, if you will, of thirteen years, should not be exhausted by premature labor. They say that there are sixty thousand children under fourteen years to-day—more perhaps—in the textile mills of the South; sixty thousand under fourteen, and many of them doing night work. It seems to me humiliating to argue that a human plant of such tender years should not be required to bear fruit; to prove that it is a sin against mankind to exact precocious fruit-bearing of the human plant; that a child which is set to continuous physical labor and long physical labor in those early years when it should just grow, just absorb the sunshine and that the child which is put into the mill for ten long hours a day, that such a child is being stunted and crippled! Can we answer before our conscience before the world and before the Divine power why we allow it! Why we allow that a child instead of going to school shall grow up in ignorance, that its mind shall remain undeveloped and that instead of having a guarded home it shall be exposed to all the corrupting influences that are incident to an irregular life. Must I descend so far in the presence of the cultivated men and women sitting here in this national capital as to argue the elementary rights of the child, that the child should not be misused, that the adult should not sit on its back and use it as a beast of burden.

"And the evil is increasing. Here are our local Child Labor Committees; here is our National Committee, and we have done our best. We have done what little we can, the National Committee; and the local Child Labor Committees that have done far more than our National Committee has yet been able to do. Here are all these forces that have been at work; we have been trying to stem the tide, and the black fact is that all these forces have not only not availed, but that the tide is gaining upon us; that there is more child labor to-day than there was five years ago, more of it. So you will realize what I have said at the beginning that it is no lukewarm interest that brings us here, it is the feeling that we have for our task to strangle a snake that is coiling around the neck of the young child, that we have to abolish a new kind of slavery, that we have got to take action, not only to check a retreating evil, but we have got to use every power at our command to prevent the

steady increase, the steady and ominous increase of this disastrous and dangerous woe and wrong.

"I hope that this meeting will arouse an earnest interest in you all that here from the capital of the nation will radiate influence through the United States, and that your District of Columbia, though it is not an industrial center, will help us by setting for the country a standard which other parts of the United States may follow. And I hope that as a result of these meetings you will feel, each and every one, that you are called upon, whatever your other philanthropic interests may be, to become propagandists in this cause.

"And now, as to what finally the National Child Labor Committee intends to do. It is a national committee. It has the assistance in its work of light and leading men. Cardinal Gibbons is one of the members, Bishop Greer is one of the members, and it has some of the most eminent names in the country on its list of members, and it hopes with the help and countenance of men and women associated with it to put into the focus of national interest the necessity of the abolition, the total abolition, of child labor. It does not propose to interfere with local bodies, but to supplement their efforts, to be of use by encouraging legislation in those States which are without legislation or in which the legislation which has been passed is deficient. It proposes, above all, to bring it about that the laws which are passed shall also be enforced. Much of our legislation is excellent; many of the laws on our statute books can hardly be improved upon, and yet in the very States in which such laws exist we find that the evil is growing. Why is it growing? Because of our American weakness in trusting to legislation, trusting to the mere fact that the law exists, and not providing as we must the force, which shall put the law into constant operation. That force in the United States is public sentiment. To rally public sentiment on behalf of the abolition of child labor is the prime object of this conference which we have opened.

"It is hardly necessary to try to convince you that child labor is monstrous. If anyone needs to be convinced, there is one test which I would suggest. How would you like your own child not yet thirteen years of age, how would you like your own child, say eleven years of age, to be at work in the breakers? In place of arguing the question, picture to yourself some little child that is very close to your heart, a tender, undeveloped, loveable and beloved girl or boy, infinitely dear to you; think of that little girl or that little boy that means so much to you, at work in the mill or in the coal breakers, where, as Mr. Lovejoy told us, it is so dark that you cannot see five feet ahead—dark because of the dust. Think of your little girl in one of those textile mills in the South working night shifts. You know that your child's eyes begin to droop when night falls. At that hour you want your little one to be safely tucked in bed. You would think it monstrous if your little child should be forcibly kept awake till midnight. What then do you think of that other child's being kept awake all night, its eyelids drooping, its strength going from it, till it is hardly able to stand?

"There is an inspector in Cleveland of whom I learned from one of our



co-workers that he somewhat resented the agitation of the child labor issue because he claimed that Cleveland is free from the evil of premature child labor. Yet he convinced himself that he was mistaken. He investigated, and he found to his own amazement and horror that hundreds of children are employed in the sweat shops of Cleveland during the night. And what I gathered from his statement was this picture. A picture sometimes burns itself into the mind so that one cannot get rid of it; and ever since I have learned of his statement that picture has haunted me. The picture was that of a hundred, or more than a hundred, little folks, little bits of human beings, trudging through the streets of Cleveland in the gray dawn of the morning, coming home from work.

"Now, imagine any child of yours as one of that troop on which the gray dawn looks down. What is the difference between our children and those? Are we to say that the lot of life is differently apportioned? But surely not to that extent, surely not to the extent of bringing such misery and degradation into the lives of the very young. Let the pain and horror of seeing in imagination your own child as one of that troop going through the streets in the gray of the dawn, coming home from work; let that be with you, as it has been with me, and you will become propagandists in this child labor movement. Then I am sure that it is not you who need to be convinced, but that what we are here for is to take counsel as to how we may convince others. And there is no one who can give us better counsel than the proved and efficient worker in this cause, whom I am now going to introduce to you, Mrs. Florence Kelley.

"I have just a few words to say before I introduce to you the chairman of the afternoon and to apologize if I myself withdraw from the meeting. But I desire, before my participation in the public conferences ends, to put one point before you touching our committee and its work which we have considered in our private conferences, but which I feel has not yet been sufficiently emphasized in our public meetings, namely, this point: that we are combating a recurrent evil, if there be such a thing as periodicity to be remarked in the historic recurrences of certain great moral wrongs. For instance, Europe at the close of the middle ages had practically extinguished or very largely extinguished serfdom and human slavery. And then of a sudden new conditions occurred, of which the discovery of the American continent was the principal one, and behold slavery re-emerged on a scale and magnitude perhaps quite unequaled in the world's history.

"So, in the last century it was believed that through the efforts of Lord Shaftesbury and others the form of slavery which we call child labor, the exploitation of child strength—that this form of servitude had been abolished. And now we behold in the United States a recurrence of this condition on a scale and magnitude which gives occasion for the most profound alarm.

"The object of the National Child Labor Committee, therefore, is not merely to deal with an existing situation, but its larger purpose is to become a steering committee for the United States. One by one our great agricultural communities will wheel into line and become industrial communities, the agri-

cultural will pass into the industrial type of civilization, and then the temptation will always recur to secure a temporary advantage in the industrial world by exploiting the labor, the cheap labor, of the undeveloped child.

"We felt, therefore, on coming together to constitute this National Committee that the occasion for our efforts was not merely the necessity of equalizing the efforts of the local committees, the necessity of promoting the establishment of local State committees where they do not exist, but also that this committee is needed to be on guard, to be an ever vigilant factor for years to come in the economic life of the United States in order, if possible, to bring it about that the evils which history has shown to be incidental to the incipient stage of industrialism shall not be permitted to recur. This is the larger purpose of the National Committee, which ought to be clearly and definitely set forth at this conference.

"The meeting this afternoon has for its topic, new legislation, with special reference to the needs of the District of Columbia.

"I shall now ask the chairman of the Citizens' Child Labor Committee of the District of Columbia, Dr. George M. Kober, to take the chair."

Three other events in connection with the Washington meetings deserve to be chronicled: (1) Two important executive sessions of the members of the National Committee and members of the State Committees present at this convention were held between the sessions, the first on Saturday morning at 9 o'clock, and an adjourned meeting on Saturday afternoon at 5 o'clock, at which important reports were presented from the several State Committees which threw much light on the child labor conditions in their respective states. A summary of these reports is given below. (2) The meeting of the National Committee and its guests in the executive office of the President of the United States, which occurred on Saturday morning at 11 o'clock. The President, with his usual courtesy, received the committee graciously, and likewise with his usual courage placed himself clearly on record in favor of the most stringent child labor legislation and the most earnest efforts to abolish child labor in the United States. He spoke approvingly of the plan of the National Committee to ask Congress to establish a national bureau in one of the executive departments of the government, to be known as the Children's Bureau, through which a scientific investigation of the problems of infant mortality, the birth rate, juvenile delinquency, illiteracy, child labor, and other allied questions might be made. There are many children's problems needing the special co-ordination in their study which only such a bureau, composed of proper experts, could give. (3) The dinner meeting of the members of the National Committee, Saturday evening, at the house of Mr. Gifford Pinchot, the only resident member of the National Committee, at which the question of the proper steps looking to the establishment of the Children's Bureau was discussed.

On Sunday, December 10th, child labor meetings were held in many of the churches, in response to the invitation addressed by the National Committee to the pastors of the leading churches. Among the more notable addresses of this day were those given in the First Congregational Church, by

Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy; in the First Unitarian Church, by Dr. Felix Adler; in the People's Congregational Church, by Dr. E. T. Devine, and in a Presbyterian Church, by Dr. A. J. McKelway.

At the joint executive meetings of the National and State Committees Dr. Lindsay presided, and at the opening session called first on Mr. Robert Hunter, the chairman of the New York Child Labor Committee, who opened the discussion with an outline of the work done by that committee and the plans it had in contemplation. Mr. Hunter said:

"We haven't brought an official report from our committee, because it was very difficult to have a meeting after we heard of the desire on the part of the National Committee to have reports of the various State Committees at this time. I can say, therefore, only certain general things that may be of interest.

"Our problem has gone beyond that of most of the states. The reason is that we have about as much legislation now as we are likely to get until the more backward states, that is, the southern states, are brought up more nearly to the standard of Massachusetts, New York, and a few other states which have been working longer for child labor legislation. About three years ago we managed to get our laws in what seemed to us about final shape for the time being. Since then we have made very little effort to get more advanced legislation, not that we think that the legislation of New York state is adequate or in any way model legislation; it is in nowise satisfying to those of us on the committee. But I do not think that we shall make in the next two or three years any very striking advance upon the position we now hold in the matter of legislation.

"After obtaining our legislation we found that we were getting little, if any enforcement of our laws. Although we have fairly satisfactory means of enforcement, the enforcement has been inadequate. It was almost as if we had no legislation whatever. I mean that there had been on the statute books some eighteen years a law prohibiting a child under fourteen years of age from working. That law was about as much ignored last year and a few years before as it was when it was first put in the statutes. In fact, the Commissioner of Labor of the state openly said that he could not enforce the law because there were so very few manufacturers familiar with it, and he thought it was a serious matter to enforce the law until the manufacturers were made more familiar with it. Until then he said he was inclined to be with those who violated the law. This was seriously stated, although the law was then fourteen years old.

"We had a very interesting fight in the matter, and fortunately we had the Governor on our side. He was disposed to treat the question as a matter of principle. And when we clearly demonstrated to him that the law was not being enforced, he refused to reappoint the delinquent Commissioner of Labor. Since then he has appointed another commissioner, who is not altogether acquainted with this kind of legislation, but he is a good man and a good type of public official. I think he is trying to do his best, and I am convinced that he will do some very effective work. Up to the present his

efforts have been very largely to acquaint himself with the conditions that exist, with the working force at his command, and with the legal aspects of the situation. He is so sincere that he is planning a number of changes in the law so as to make it more effective. I do not know now just what are his plans in this regard, so I cannot speak of them at this time. I don't know how many of the changes we shall be able to support, and it may be that we may have to be against him on some of the changes he wants. At any rate, at present we do not know what the coming Legislature, which opens the middle of January, will bring in the way of changes in the law.

"Our committee was the means of securing certain amendments to the laws last winter, which have since been found to be of decided assistance. The new evidence of age amendment has been enforced about nine months. By this change in the law, whenever parents cannot produce birth or baptismal certificates or other religious record originally required as proof that a child is fourteen years of age, the following proof that the child is fourteen may be accepted instead: (1) Any "other documentary evidence of age;" (2) a certificate of graduation from a public school or other school having an equivalent eight years' course. During the first six months that this amendment has been in operation fifty certificates have been granted under its provision. Of this number thirty-four children filed graduation certificates as proof of age. Evidence filed by the remainder included transcripts of Custom House records, vaccination certificates, foreign family record and transcripts of institutional records. Another amendment that our committee was instrumental in having passed was one which allows a factory or mercantile inspector to demand of the employer documentary proof of age in cases of children who claim they are sixteen years old. Commissioner Sherman, of the Department of Labor, has warmly commended this change, as it shifts the burden of proving the child's age from the department to the employer. Under the law hundreds of children have been discharged from factories who would otherwise have been able to continue to work illegally by claiming that they were sixteen.

"Now, there are one or two other things which we have undertaken to do which may interest the other states. We have been engaged very earnestly in trying to see if the law could be enforced, so that we have been working at various ends of the thing. In the first place, we have tried to make use of the compulsory education law. We have done everything we could to get the Board of Education to use this means to limit child labor. We found that a good many of the children leave school before they are fourteen years of age and go to work, and that some of these children when they were turned out of the factories do not go back to school. They were either walking the streets or working in some other illegal employment. Altogether there are about a thousand children whose names we know, and probably there are a great many more whom we do not know. This matter has been brought before the City Superintendent of Schools, and an investigation will be made to see how many children are not in school, how many are idle on the streets and how many are illegally employed.

"Another interesting thing, which Miss Wald, I hope, will speak of more in detail, because it has been her work largely which has brought it into being, is the "scholarship fund" which has been raised. A member of our committee kindly gave a fund to the committee for the purpose of giving scholarships to those children whose families would be in distress if the children were not permitted to work. That, of course, is a serious matter in any state. We know it has been very much overestimated; and, as Mr. Lovejoy said last night, the professed interest of the employer in the welfare of widows and of poor children is largely hypocritical. They have no real interest in the children, and no real interest in the widows. They are employing the children solely for their own profit. While that condition has been very much exaggerated by the manufacturers, there is still this much trouble in it. There are in every state a certain number of families who really feel it necessary on account of their unfortunate economic position to send their young children to work. We intend to prevent the necessity for that. We realize the inadequacy of the small fund we can raise or give to supply temporary or permanent pensions to cover conditions of that kind. As has been said, there will probably come some time a movement to make the school fund or some other fund of the state bear the expense of these pensions.

"Those are the main things we are working on. Our effort now on all lines is to get enforcement of such laws as we now have.

"The newsboy law is very disappointing to us. It was so when the law was passed. The law was very carefully drafted, and was a rather complete law when it went before the Legislature. But it was altogether new. It was a law prohibiting street trading for certain classes of children and regulating street trading for other classes of children. The law was very bitterly opposed by a number of people who did not understand it, and who did not realize that there was any precedent for it. They believed it was very radical and very absurd legislation. So, through the influence of these rather powerful persons, in New York the law was very much mutilated, so much so that I remember saying to the Legislative Committee at the time the bill was under consideration that if they passed it in that form I knew it would not be enforced; indeed, that it could not be enforced. I may have stated that too strongly. We have gotten some little enforcement. But I think my point at that time was right. I don't believe the law as it now stands will ever be enforced. It may be possible in the coming Legislature to get some changes in this law. This last year the Commissioner of Police has appointed a squad of four policemen, plain-clothes men, to enforce the law; but even under this new arrangement the law is not being strictly enforced, although there has been some improvement. There have been about 500 arrests since the squad was appointed, last May, and perhaps in time we shall be able to make it—the mutilated law we have—work with some degree of satisfaction to ourselves.

"Another piece of work before our committee at this time is to attempt to get the school officials in the state to take a school census. New York

is behind many other states in the matter, although a statute put on the books in 1895 requires the taking of such a census every two years. No census has been taken, however, since 1897. Our committee is now urging upon the Board of Education the importance of the question as the best practical means of enforcing the compulsory education law."

Dr. Lindsay then called upon Miss Lillian Wald, who, like Mr. Hunter, is not only an active member of the New York State Committee, but also an active worker on the National Committee, asking her to report on the scholarship fund which the New York Committee administers to aid those unable to attend school and not eligible for employment certificates. Miss Wald addressed the meeting as follows:

"One of the members of the committee has presented to the New York Child Labor Committee the sum of \$2500 a year for child labor scholarships. He has not committed himself to give this amount for any stated number of years, but at the same time, if it is needed, he has intimated that it will be continued for some time. The purpose of the donor in establishing these scholarships was to make it possible for the committee to prevent hardship to a family as a result of the child labor laws not allowing the child to work when its earnings were needed. Another object of the fund is to remove from the mind of the officials who are responsible for enforcing the law any tendency there may have been to make exceptions in the law's enforcement because of the plea of poverty in the child's family. The scholarship thus acts as a substitute for the child's illegal earnings, and at the same time prevents violation of the law in order to keep the family from suffering. The fund is very valuable for the experiment, and to really test how much truth there is in the popular claim that many widows or disabled parents are absolutely dependent for support upon the earnings of their young children.

"A sub-committee having this work in charge has been meeting almost weekly for the purpose of considering very carefully each individual application for a scholarship. Letters were first sent out to the principals and superintendents of schools, to settlement head workers, and to the Commissioner of Labor, extending an invitation to call to the attention of the secretary any instance where the law appeared to be working great hardship. It was evident, after a meeting or two of the committee, that this was also an invitation for the societies to unload on the committee. That was not, however, the purpose of the giver or of the special committee. The scholarship sub-committee has finally come to the conclusion that as a general rule cases will not be regarded as eligible for scholarships under fourteen years of age. No society in New York would deny that a child under fourteen is properly a care for philanthropic aid. But, as much of the criticism of the law was focussed on the difficulty by proving the child's age and meeting the educational standard, the committee believes that it is up to them to meet this criticism in a practical way. A great many cases that have come before the committee have proved not to be properly within the scope of the fund. The difficulty of getting the required evidence of age necessary to obtain an employment certificate has not been so great as was thought, as with some

personal effort on the part of the secretary in several instances the needed proof of age has been secured. It has been found that the acceptance by the officials who have charge of issuing employment certificates of "other documentary evidence" (allowed under a recent amendment of the law) has made it possible for many children to secure working papers who could not otherwise have done so.

"Since the announcement of our scholarship plan was made, about four months ago, 117 applications have been received and investigated, either by the committee or by representatives of the relief societies. Of this number eighty-three, or 72 per cent., were found not to be in need of aid. Of the remaining thirty-four cases help in the form of scholarships has been given in thirteen instances, while in the other twenty-one cases, in many of which the need was only temporary, assistance has been given by the various relief societies. The scholarships vary in amount from \$1 to \$3 a week, and extend over a period of from one to twelve months. The scholarship holders are required to present weekly at the office of the committee a card signed by the school principal certifying to their regular attendance at school. In cases in which the investigator has shown that there is no need of assistance a report to this effect is made to the principal, and by means of a 'tickler' system ten days later the case is followed up, to learn from the principal whether the child is again regularly attending school.

"I cannot give a full report, but it is extremely interesting as each case comes up to find the difficulties are not altogether insurmountable. In many instances the trouble is solved by referring the cases to one of the philanthropic societies, who have for some time been carrying the burden and are willing to carry it a little further. In other instances the solution of the problem is found by securing employment for the parents. In this manner, as well as by means of our scholarships, the purpose aimed at is attained; namely, to prevent the child becoming a violator of the law. The philanthropic societies, of course, have the privilege of coming under the limitation which the Scholarship Committee has placed upon its fund.

"I do not know anything further I can say now. The \$2500 has not yet been exhausted, but when it is more widely known there will undoubtedly be as many cases as the fund can take care of. It is very difficult to properly and suitably investigate the applications, because, where the families have been self-respecting and perhaps have made efforts for many years to keep from applying to relief societies for aid, the Scholarship Committee believes that their dignity should be respected, and that the committee should try to make a private investigation. That, of course, will make additional expense to the committee, but so far the work has been done by volunteer visitors."

Mrs. Kelley: "You have not mentioned how many cases the philanthropic societies find it necessary to help in the support of children."

Miss Wald: "That is true, because in this, as in all other cases, it is impossible to enforce the law or to know just where we are without having a school census. The committee intends to bring this to the attention of the superintendents of philanthropic societies. In one instance four children

have been for five years under pension from a philanthropic society where the almoner had been going there regularly and never discovered that not one of the four children had ever been in school, although they were all born in America. The oldest, fifteen years of age, had been one week in school some years before. These facts have been brought to the attention of the superintendent of the philanthropic society, who did all within his power to have the children at school and the family supported.

"The next effort, in order to protect the superintendents of these societies, would be to have a system of reports from the school superintendents. Our committee is asking for the full measure of our bond. We are asking that not only the child shall bring a report that he is regularly attending school, but a similar card showing the attendance of his brothers and sisters is also required, so that we really get the worth of the scholarship—that is, that there may not be substitution of children."

The next speaker called upon was Miss Laura N. Platt, representing the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee, who gave an interesting account of the recent efforts in that state to secure the new Pennsylvania law. Miss Platt spoke as follows:

"Although the child labor features of the factory law as revised by the Legislature of 1905 did not accomplish all which the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee had worked for, and although the standard of legislation was not reached which is held up by New York and Illinois, a long stride has been made toward not only a higher standard, but toward effective regulation. The gain in standard is:

(a) Protection for all working children except those engaged in domestic or farm labor.

*Against.* Protection for only those engaged in factories and certain classes of stores and workshops.

(b) Prohibition of night work to all children between fourteen and sixteen years (excepting those employed in certain class of manufacture).

*Against.* No prohibition of night work.

(c) An advance in age limit at which children may commence work from thirteen to fourteen years.

The gain toward *effective* regulation is:

(a) Requirement of record evidence of age.

(b) The issuance of certificates by school authorities.

(c) The filing of duplicate certificates and record evidence in a central office, where the documents filed are open to the inspection of the public.

"A recount of the work of the Pennsylvania Committee prior to the introduction of its bill in the Legislature will give some idea of the foundation on which the committee worked, as well as its qualifications. The initial work of the committee was its investigation into child labor conditions, which covered, in time, four months. The investigation was so planned as



(1) to cover the sections of the state and localities where children are employed in the largest numbers; (2) to discover to what degree and in what respect the law failed to protect the children.

"In Philadelphia a probation officer gave three months to the investigation. She interviewed the children personally, as well as others who knew them as school children, club children, employees; who knew them at home and as friends. A resident of the east-central part of the state, and a well-known student and writer on labor conditions in his own locality, spent six months on a special investigation for the committee. A teacher of South Pittsburg, well acquainted with the children who worked in glass houses, gave a month to the investigation in that locality. The Assistant Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, also investigated and reported on the condition of children in glass houses in the western part of the state, in connection with the cross state investigation of the glass industry. His valuable report was placed at the disposal of the committee. A special investigation, undertaken for the committee, was made by the Public Education Association. The material collected showed that night schools are not a substitute for day schools, and that young children who work, either do not attend the schools or, if they do, receive little or no benefit, on account of the fatigue of their day's work. A dozen or more superintendents of schools, as well as superintendents of parochial schools; the officers of school boards; teachers of both parochial and public schools; Sunday-school teachers; between thirty-five and fifty leaders of working boys' and working girls' clubs; the residents of settlements in both the eastern and western part of the state; superintendents and visitors of charitable societies; eminent physicians, as well as physicians acquainted with the working people; manufacturers; managers of telegraph and district messenger offices and trade unionists were all consulted and all furnished the committee with data which threw light on the various phases of child labor. Aside from the expert testimony which the individual investigations brought together, the records of the Boys' House of Refuge were carefully examined, as well as the records of the court officers in the eastern and western part of the state. The records told, as nothing else could, the heavy cost of early employment. The Philadelphia Bureau of Compulsory Education, at the suggestion of the committee, noted in its school census the kind of labor performed by children between thirteen and sixteen years.

"The results of the investigation were sent in to the secretary in the form of notes and schedules. One thousand schedules were filled in, some giving the history of a child and the others a few items of interest in connection with its age, work and schooling. From these notes and schedules the secretary compiled reports, which were printed in five pamphlets by the National Child Labor Committee. Each of these pamphlets gives some one phase of child labor as it exists in Pennsylvania. 'Illiteracy Promoted by Perjury' illustrates the importance of requiring record evidence of a child's age in place of depending on a parent's affidavit. 'Children Who Work at Night' is an account of the children on night shifts in the messenger service, glass houses, foundries, theatres and bowling alleys. The 'Unprotected

Children' are the working children who had not, previous to the enactment of 1905, been protected in their employment. 'Dependent Parents' answers the old-time inquiry whether the state shall allow the burden of supporting a family to fall on its youngest children. 'The Cost of Child Labor, a Study of Disabled and Delinquent Children,' does not estimate, but indicates the social loss through the employment of children. The Pennsylvania Committee also compiled and published a more popular presentation of the whole subject in an illustrated pamphlet called 'The Working' Children of Pennsylvania.'

"When the greater part of the data had been collected, but four months before it was published, a sub-committee on legislation was appointed by the Executive Committee, for the purpose of drafting a bill. The measure recommended by the sub-committee was the result of careful consideration for three months of the findings of the investigation; of the experience of those directly and indirectly connected with the enforcement of the old law; and of the experience of other states. The Legislative Committee held conferences with the State Superintendent of Public Instruction; various local superintendents of schools; grade teachers; the Chief Inspector of Factories and deputy inspectors; Chief of the Bureau of Compulsory Education, Philadelphia; Chairman of the Committee on Compulsory Education, Philadelphia; Superintendent of the Boys' House of Refuge; the Chief Probation Officer of Pittsburg; probation officers in Philadelphia, as well as manufacturers, trade unionists and others unofficially but actively interested in the enforcement of the law.

"The bill was re-drafted twenty-two times and every detail carefully considered before it was finally presented to the Legislature by the representatives of the Executive Committee. The committee was fortunate in securing the criticism of one of the ablest constitutional lawyers in the country, Mr. Alexander Simpson, Jr., as well as the legal advice of such members of its committee as Hon. Lyman D. Gilbert and Mr. J. Percy Keating. The bill was an attempt, primarily, to secure three points: (1) A true age limitation, through certificates based on record evidence of age rather than on affidavits; (2) prohibition of night work for all children under sixteen years; (3) extension of legal protection to all children regularly employed in industry and commerce.

"The bill was introduced in the House and in the Senate and given a hearing before a House committee. The Legislative Committee in charge of all the child labor measures introduced decided to report no bill favorably until those interested in the legislation succeeded in effecting a compromise. The Textile Workers' Union of Philadelphia introduced what it called a child labor bill, which did not attempt to remedy the weakness in the old law which made impossible the enforcement of an age limitation. The bill introduced by the Factory Inspection Department was also defective on this point. The three groups of advocates of child labor legislation had failed to agree on a measure previous to the hearing, because they differed as to what was vital. Before the Legislature adjourned, however, the Department

of Factory Inspection and the Child Labor Committee agreed upon a compromise. This compromise was the bill signed by the Governor May 2d, 1905.

"The important work of the campaign and the work immediately responsible for the passage of the bill was done by Dr. Samuel McC. Lindsay, Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee. It was Dr. Lindsay's skillful handling of the situation at Harrisburg which gave Pennsylvania the new statute, of which it has been said: 'It is the most important law of its kind in the country, because it contributes to the welfare of the greatest number of children.'

"The work of the campaign carried on from the office of the Pennsylvania Committee, while playing no part in the successful issue of the law itself, was of importance from an educational point of view. The campaign will have aroused, it is believed, interest in the enforcement of the law and criticism of it which will be at once intelligent and effective.

"While the Legislature was in session the committee sent out over 9600 letters to individuals throughout the state, asking for their indorsement of the bill. Support of the bill was also urged upon local and county superintendents of schools as well as selected lists of teachers and on the officers of clubs and educational and philanthropic societies. Along with these letters, and in explanation of the necessity of the legislation which the committee advocated, 23,000 pamphlets were circulated and 6000 printed synopses of the bill. Arguments for the child labor bill were sent to all the important daily and weekly papers in Pennsylvania, outside of Philadelphia.

"For reference during the campaign, a card index of all the members of the Legislature was compiled. This recorded the action of the various members during the past five years on bills of importance similar to the child labor bill. A committee of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, of which Mrs. Wilbur F. Rose was chairman, sent a circular letter to all the federated clubs of Pennsylvania. In answer to this appeal forty-three clubs endorsed the bill drafted by the committee.

"Meetings inaugurated by the Women's Clubs in Pittsburg stirred the interest of the people in the western section of the state.

"Since May 3d, when the new factory act became a law, the committee has undertaken the task of informing, in an unofficial way, all people interested in the enforcement of the law, whom the factory inspectors could not reach officially. As the new law became operative as soon as it received the signature of the Governor, these unofficial announcements were important as a prevention against the illegal issuing of certificates. Of special importance was a printed letter sent to notaries public, who, under the new law, are not permitted to issue certificates, but are required to administer the oaths. One thousand eight hundred and seventy-two of these letters were mailed directly to notaries, with printed extracts of the law. As it was impossible to secure a full list of names and addresses, the work was supplemented by a notice through the Associated Press. The committee also, at the suggestion of the State Superintendent of Schools, informed local superintendents and county superintendents of the passage of the law.

"The committee has had printed 5000 cards, which have been placed by the Bureau of Compulsory Education in all the school rooms and lower school halls in Philadelphia, and in 150 parochial schools. These cards, on the side turned to the wall, notify teachers of the new provisions, and on the other side children are told where certificates of employment are issued and under what conditions they may be secured.

"Extracts of the new law were mailed to thirty-six associations of manufacturers. In response to these notices requests have been received for 6299 copies of the law.

"Immediately after the passage of the law the Chief of the Factory Inspection Department appealed to the Pennsylvania Committee to draft a form for the employment certificates which would comply with the requirements of the new law. The draft now in use is a compromise draft of the form compiled by the committee and the Factory Inspection Department.

"As the committee was primarily responsible for the certificate features of the new law it had more clearly in mind, as to details, than any of the officials concerned with the issuing of the certificates, the details of the new requirements. As the law took effect immediately, the committee found it necessary to act, so far as its services were acceptable, as interpreter. The work of issuing the certificates from the Bureau of Compulsory Education was facilitated by the appointment in June of a deputy for that purpose, who had been for the ten months previous a clerk in the office of the committee. In July the annual convention of State Teachers' Association was held. During that convention it was discovered that the majority of superintendents of schools, on whom devolved the duty of issuing employment certificates, were anxious for advice and interpretation of the new law—which the representative of the committee was able to give them.

"Although this committee had no part in the successful passage of the law relating to children working in the mines, it was gratified that the United Mine Workers accepted, with some verbal modifications and higher qualifications, the bill which the Pennsylvania Committee had drafted and hoped to pass for the protection of the children in the foundries and other establishments."

Dr. Lindsay added to the report from Pennsylvania a statement concerning the recent decision of Judge Wheaton, of Wilkes-Barre, in which the employment certificate feature of the child labor law relating to mines was declared unconstitutional. The decision was due to defective wording of one section of the law, which, in Judge Wheaton's opinion, required an employment certificate from all minors employed in mines between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one, whereas the intention of the law was to require such certificates only for children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. That intent was expressed in a report to the Legislature of which the court might have taken cognizance, but it regarded the statute as a penal statute, and therefore subject to the strictest interpretation, and preferred to construe the law as applying to all minors. The fact that a different educational standard was required of those who could not present record

evidence of birth was, in the opinion of the court, an unjust discrimination, and hence the law was held to be unconstitutional. The Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee has appealed this case to the Superior Court and engaged legal counsel to test the validity of the decision just rendered.

The next committee to be heard from was that known as the Legislative Committee of the Consumers' League of Massachusetts, which in a sense acts as a state child labor committee. This committee was represented by Howard W. Brown, Esq., of Boston, who reported on its work at the last session of the Legislature of Massachusetts. He said in part:

"What we did at the last session of the Legislature first of all related to the condition of illiterate minors under sixteen. An amendment was secured to the existing law doing away with the requirement that illiterates from fourteen to sixteen legally employed were obliged to attend night school, and in place of a requirement that only inflicted additional hardship upon the children was substituted the legal requirement that no illiterate under sixteen years of age may be employed in factories or mercantile establishments. The second piece of legislative work that the committee had in hand was to successfully combat an attempt to do away with the fifty-eight hour a week restriction for the working women and children under eighteen in factories and other establishments. There was a desire to suspend the operation of this clause during the period of the holiday season in stores. The committee considered this a dangerous exemption, and successfully defeated the proposed legislation."

For the coming year Mr. Brown stated that the committee had in mind an attempt to strengthen the legislative protection for children engaged at night by prohibiting the employment of all children under sixteen after 7 o'clock in the evening and before 6 o'clock in the morning, and another contemplated change in the factory law was to extend the fifty-eight hour law, now covering only factories, workshops and mercantile establishments, to all children under sixteen in all trades and occupations. This provision would benefit especially the messenger boys, and boys working in business houses, apartments, restaurants and hotels.

Mr. H. H. Jacobs, of Milwaukee, Wis., representing the Wisconsin Child Labor Committee, from whose chairman, E. W. Frost, Esq., a written report had already been sent to the meeting, was the next speaker. Both Mr. Jacobs, who spoke informally, and Mr. Frost, in his written report, called attention to the fact that the committee was organized on September 12th, 1905, consisting of sixteen persons, representing various sections of the state, to which additions will be made from time to time until the number reaches from twenty to twenty-five. The committee has already published a pamphlet concerning the child labor and factory laws of Wisconsin, giving the text of existing laws and preparing to enter upon an educational campaign for the extension of the law, and especially for the inclusion of an educational test. In the two years and a half that the present law has been in operation the committee estimates that at least one thousand children who were working illegally have been taken from such work. The new

requirements of the law as to permits and the ascertainment of the age of the children have worked well. The National Factory Inspectors' Association has pronounced it one of the best laws for practical enforcement, "because," says Mr. Frost, "of the fact that our laws provide a definite and practical way to ascertain the age of the child who applies for work. Inasmuch as the factory inspectors or other official to whom the child applies for a permit may, and do, demand either a verified birth certificate or a verified baptismal certificate or proper proof of the age of the child at the time of entrance into school. In the large percentage of the applications one or other of these requirements gives the child's correct age. There has been, naturally, trouble, as in the case of children of immigrants, who cannot produce either of these three proofs, and the factory inspectors here have demanded vaccination certificates, passports and other forms of record evidence. The enforcement of the law in Milwaukee is increasingly thorough, and in the state at large, in certain counties where its provisions are better known. There is, however, much ignorance on the subject. There is a great need of a proper educational test, and it goes without saying that there is much to be said in favor of an eight-hour day for children under sixteen, but I doubt the advisability of any such movement at present, although we may get public sentiment up to it by 1907. Some of the factory inspectors strain the law and refuse permits in cases of great illiteracy, although such permits could be obtained by going to the courts. There is an increasing disposition on the part of all Judges, who have also the right to issue permits, to send all applicants to the factory inspectors, of whom there are soon to be twelve in the state at large, or about one for every 200,000 people; still an insufficient number, though a great improvement on previous conditions. The next regular session of our Legislature is in January, 1907, and meanwhile we hope to stimulate public sentiment to the better enforcement of the law."

Mrs. Kelley, in commenting upon the report from Wisconsin, said that theoretically she thought that the provision of the Wisconsin law in practically placing the issuing of employment certificates in the hands of the factory inspectors was a bad one, that the duty of inspection should not be to inspect one's own work, and, furthermore, that the work that factory inspectors have to do in any community is too important and too vast in amount to permit of their time being taken up to issue certificates. Mrs. Kelley suggested that the issuing of certificates should be turned over to the educational or health authorities.

A written report from the state of Missouri was made by the Secretary of the Missouri Child Labor Committee, Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy, of Washington University, as follows:

1. *Recent Legislation.*—The laws concerning the labor of children in force in Missouri up to the year 1905 have prohibited the employment of children under fourteen years in any manufacturing or mechanical establishment where steam, water or any other mechanical power is used, or where the work to be done would, in the opinion of two reputable physicians, be dangerous to the child's health; have also prohibited the employment

of boys under twelve or females of any age in any mine, and the employment of boys under fourteen in any mine unless able to read and write; and have also provided that no person having the care of any child under the age of fourteen shall "in any manner sell, apprentice, give away, let out, or otherwise dispose of such child to any person in or for the vocation or occupation of singing, playing on musical instruments, rope or wire walking, dancing, begging or peddling," or as a gymnast, or for any immoral purpose or exhibition, or in any business or vocation "injurious to the health or dangerous to the life or limb of such child, or cause, procure, or encourage any such child to engage in such occupation."

These last provisions of the law would apparently make it possible to prevent children from being employed in any sort of peddling and in unhealthful or dangerous trades; but this part of the statutes has never been so construed, and has served only to diminish the use of children in public exhibitions of a dangerous or immoral character. The enforcement of these laws has been entirely in the hands of the state factory inspector and his assistants, whose duties require them also to secure the enforcement of the other multifarious state laws relating to factories.

During the last session of the Legislature a compulsory education law was adopted, which requires that all children under fourteen shall attend regularly some day school (public, private or parochial) not less than one-half of the entire school session; and further contains the following sections relating to child labor:

"No child between eight and fourteen years of age shall be employed in any mine, factory, workshop, mercantile establishment, or in any other manner, during the usual school hours, unless the person employing him shall procure a certificate from the superintendent or teacher of the school he attended, stating that such child attended school for the period required by law, or has been excused from attendance as provided in section two; and it shall be the duty of such superintendent or teacher to furnish such certificate upon application of the parent, guardian or other persons having control of such child entitled to the same. Every owner, superintendent or officer of any mine, factory, workshop or mercantile establishment, and any other person who shall employ any child between eight and fourteen years of age contrary to the provisions of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction, shall be fined for each offense in a sum not less than twenty nor more than fifty dollars and costs."

The appointment of truant officers for the enforcement of the compulsory education law is left optional with local Boards of Education, and such officers will probably be appointed only in the large cities. Duly appointed truant officers have power to enter factories and business houses to ascertain whether any children who should be in school are being employed there. The law thus has the effect, where put into operation, of prohibiting all labor of children under fourteen years of age in the day time during at least the first half of the school year. The St. Louis Board has appointed five truant officers, and the law is being vigorously enforced in that city. The effect

during the first two months since it went into effect has been to increase greatly both the enrollment and regularity of attendance in the public schools, and to reach a considerable number of children employed in forms of labor not covered by the older child labor laws. Thus the truant officers have taken a number of boys under fourteen from the messenger service, and placed them in school. The new law will probably continue to be of considerable service in this respect.

2. *Deficiencies of Present Missouri Laws.*—The most notable deficiencies of the Missouri legislation on child labor are the following:

(a) The laws do not apply to a sufficient number of trades; in particular, they permit children to be employed during a large part of the year in certain sorts of work highly injurious to health or morals.

(b) They contain no special provisions in regard to night work.

(c) They do not restrict the total hours of labor per week for all children under sixteen.

(d) They permit the exemption of children in the case of "extreme poverty of the parent."

(e) They place the burden of proof in respect to the child's age upon the factory inspectors.

(f) The appropriation for the factory inspector's office does not permit the employment of a sufficient number of inspectors to visit factories with sufficient frequency and unexpectedness to prevent a considerable evasion of the child labor statutes by employers so inclined. The provision that the opinion of two reputable physicians may be taken as evidence that a given sort of work would be injurious to the health of a child appears to be construed to mean that no work is injurious which any two physicians will swear that they believe to be not so.

3. *Organization for Improvement of Conditions.*—A meeting was held in the Planter's Hotel, St. Louis, on May 12th, 1905, at the call of the Secretary of the National Committee, Dr. S. M. Lindsay, at which an organization was formed for agitating the question of child labor in Missouri and for securing the adoption of an improved law by the next Legislature, which meets in 1907. A state committee was created, which is at time of writing composed as follows:

N. O. Nelson, President of the Nelson Manufacturing Company, St. Louis, Chairman; Mrs. Philip N. Moore, President of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, Vice-Chairman; A. O. Lovejoy, Professor of Philosophy in Washington University, Secretary; Miss Mary E. Perry; Rev. J. W. Day, minister of the Church of the Messiah, St. Louis; H. Steinbiss, General Secretary of the International Building Trades Council.

This committee has power to increase its membership, and will eventually be a committee of ten. The committee's duty will be to promote the organization of local committees in the cities and towns of the state, to make investigations into the conditions in the several trades not now adequately reached by the existing child labor laws, and to secure public support for the improved bill which will be presented to the Legislature in 1907. The women's clubs



of the state are taking an active interest in the matter, and an effective system of co-operation between those clubs and the State Committee is now being arranged. The plans and the investigations of the committee are not as yet sufficiently matured to justify a more detailed report at this time.

Informal verbal reports of the situation in Iowa and Oregon were made by the Chairman, Dr. Lindsay, who had recently visited those states.

Dr. A. J. McKelway presented a report from the southern states, referring to the work done by several of the State Committees that have been organized in the South. Dr. McKelway said:

"In regard to the situation in the whole South to-day, I believe that conditions are worse now than they have been, in spite of some remedial legislation that has been adopted. The cotton mill industry is growing by leaps and bounds, while at the same time the price of raw cotton is high, and thus there is strenuous competition in the labor market between the factory and the farm. In this pressing demand for labor the children are being employed in greater numbers than ever before in the factories.

"Taking up the states one by one, Virginia has a pretty fair law on her statute books, prescribing a ten-hour day for children under fourteen, forbidding night work for children under fourteen, and forbidding the employment of children under twelve in any manufacturing, mechanical or mining operation. There is no provision for factory inspection, however, and the belief is general that the law is not enforced. The Labor Commissioner in Virginia hopes to have a law passed by the next Legislature, which meets in January, 1906, giving him the authority for the inspection of factories and the enforcement of the law. A state child labor committee is now being organized in Richmond among the friends of our cause.

"North Carolina has a twelve year age limit, but the same difficulty with regard to factory inspection and legal enforcement. A strong State Committee has been organized in North Carolina, with Raleigh as headquarters, which will push the matter of amending the law before the North Carolina Legislature, which meets in January, 1907.

"South Carolina has now an age limit of twelve years, but with exceptions which really reduce the age limit to ten. A strong State Committee has been organized in South Carolina, which will advocate before the South Carolina Legislature, meeting in January, 1906, the appointment of a factory inspector, the raising of the age limit to fourteen for girls and for boys who cannot read and write.

"An interesting letter from Rev. W. H. Mills, Secretary of the State Committee, states that the present law is little else than a dead letter.

"The Legislature of Florida failed to pass the child labor bill at its meeting last spring. A letter from Rev. John G. Anderson, of Tampa, Fla., a member of our committee, who had charge of the bill, attributes its defeat to the confusion of the closing hours of the session. The bill passed the Senate unanimously, and a conference committee from the two Houses had recommended its adoption. The bill was opposed by the cigar manufacturers and the canning industries, and Dr. Anderson reports that the evil of child

labor in the cigar factories is on the increase. It is hoped that a better law can be passed at the next Legislature, which meets in the spring of 1907, than the one which was defeated in the last.

"Georgia is still without a child labor law. After a hard fought campaign last summer, in which the whole state was aroused as never before, the bill which passed the House by forty-one majority failed by four votes of passing the Senate. The Georgia Child Labor Committee was reorganized during the year, with an Executive Committee in Atlanta and representation throughout the state. The Georgia Legislature meets every summer, each having two annual terms. It is possible that a bill can be passed at the coming term of the same Legislature which defeated the last bill, but it is confidently believed that the popular interest in the cause will secure the passage of an adequate law by the Legislature of 1907.

"The Alabama Child Labor Committee, which had the honor of passing the first child labor law in the South is beginning a campaign of agitation for the amendment of the law providing for factory inspection and enforcement. I have an interesting letter here from Judge N. B. Feagin, of Birmingham, Ala., who describes the political situation now existing, and believes that in the conflict of opposing forces there is hope for the passage of a child labor law for Alabama.

"Mississippi has no child labor law as yet, though the child labor evil is a slight one in that state, as a large majority of the population is rural and there are only twenty-one cotton factories in the state. An effort will be made to organize a Child Labor Committee in January, and to promote the passage of the bill through the Legislature which meets in that month.

"The Legislature of Louisiana, at its last session, defeated an amendment to the present law which would have rendered it much more effective. Much interest in the cause has been aroused in the state, and the effort at amendment will be renewed at the coming session of the Legislature.

"I have no reports from Texas or from Arkansas.

"The activity of the factory inspector in Kentucky has been noticeable of late, and several prosecutions for violations of the existing law will undoubtedly make it more respected than it has been. The Kentucky law has an age limit of fourteen for children working in factories and mines, and also a compulsory education law.

"Tennessee has the same age limit of fourteen, but a letter from Chancellor Kirkland, of our committee, indicates that the law is not adequately enforced. An effort will be made to organize a State Committee in Nashville in January, 1906."

A strong delegation from Maryland was present. The Vice-Chairman of the Maryland Child Labor Committee, Mrs. John M. Glenn, presented a most interesting verbal report, telling of the recent organization of that committee and of the investigations made by the Consumers' League and the efforts made to frame a child labor law to be presented at the coming session of the Maryland Legislature, looking to the adoption of a child labor law covering the entire state. Mrs. Glenn said:

"We have a child labor law on the statute books applicable to children under fourteen years of age, but there is no machinery provided for its enforcement. It applies to only four counties in the state, and it exempts the canning industry and the children of widowed mothers. We want a law to cover the entire state and all its industries. If we cannot begin with the fourteen year standard, we will start with less, and if possible secure adequate enforcement and investigation, so as to be in a stronger position two years hence to raise our standard."

Dr. George M. Kober, Chairman of the District of Columbia Citizens' Child Labor Committee, reported on the work of that committee and the difficulties it had encountered in arousing sufficient interest in Congress to get any legislation on the subject at all. The committee is very anxious to have the District of Columbia removed from the black list of communities in which there is no child labor legislation.

Mr. Lovejoy reported informally for the states of Michigan and Ohio, in both of which State Committees have been recently organized.

The following is a list of the general or state child labor committees, with the names and addresses of their chief officers:

Alabama Child Labor Committee.—Dr. B. J. Baldwin, Montgomery, Chairman.

Buffalo (N. Y.) Committee on Children.—Hon. George A. Lewis, Buffalo, Chairman; Porter R. Lee, Buffalo, Secretary.

Citizens' Child Labor Committee of the District of Columbia.—Dr. George M. Kober, 1600 T Street, Northwest, Washington, Chairman; Henry J. Harris, 1429 New York Avenue, Washington, Secretary.

Georgia Child Labor Committee.—Ex-Governor Allen D. Candler, Gainesville, Chairman; Rev. C. B. Wilmer, D.D., 16 Houston Street, Atlanta, Secretary.

Hull House Child Labor Committee, Chicago, Ill., Jane Addams, Chairman; Mrs. H. Van der Vaart, Secretary.

Iowa Child Labor Committee.—Professor Isaac A. Loos, Iowa City, Chairman; Hon. Edward D. Brigham, Des Moines, Secretary.

Maryland Child Labor Committee.—Robert Garrett, Baltimore, Chairman; H. Wirt Steele, 101 West Saratoga Street, Baltimore, Secretary.

Legislative Committee of the Consumers' League of Massachusetts.—Edith M. Howes, 415 Marlborough Street, Boston, Chairman.

Michigan Child Labor Committee.—Professor Charles H. Cooley, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Chairman; Luman W. Goodenough, Detroit, Secretary.

Missouri Child Labor Committee.—N. O. Nelson, Eighth and Charles Streets, St. Louis, Chairman; Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy, Washington University, St. Louis, Secretary.

New Jersey Child Labor Committee.—Hugh F. Fox, Plainfield, Chairman; Miss Florence D. Dale, Montclair, Secretary.

New York Child Labor Committee.—Robert Hunter, 88 Grove Street,

New York, Chairman; George A. Hall, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York, Secretary.

North Carolina Child Labor Committee.—Dr. Hubert A. Royster, Raleigh, Chairman; C. L. Coon, Raleigh, Secretary.

Ohio Child Labor Committee.—Dr. Albert H. Freiberg, 19 West Seventh Street, Cincinnati, Chairman; Wallace E. Miller, Columbus, Secretary.

Oregon Child Labor Commission.—H. G. Kundret, 232½ Washington Street, Portland, Chairman; Mrs. B. H. Trumbull, 921 Corbett Street, Portland, Secretary.

Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee.—Hon Lyman D. Gilbert, Harrisburg, Chairman; Scott Nearing, 708 North American Building, Philadelphia, Secretary; George Woodward, M.D., North American Building, Philadelphia, Chairman of Executive Committee.

Rhode Island Child Labor Committee.—Prof. Gardner, of Brown University, Providence, Chairman; Miss Conington, Secretary.

South Carolina Child Labor Committee.—Rev. W. H. Mills, North Augusta, Secretary.

Tennessee Child Labor Committee.—Dr. James H. Kirkland, Nashville, Chairman; Rev. G. W. Bull, Secretary.

Wisconsin Child Labor Committee.—Edward W. Frost, Wells Building, Milwaukee, Chairman; H. H. Jacobs, University Settlement, Milwaukee, Secretary.

The closing session of the annual meeting, constituting the supplementary session held in Chicago on December 16th, was presided over by the Governor of Illinois, Hon. Charles S. Deneen, who referred to the excellent record made by the comparatively limited force of factory inspectors in Illinois. The Governor said:

"I have been invited to act as presiding officer, not to speak, and I shall observe the rules of hospitality. It is fortunate for this audience, and I believe also fortunate for the state, to have a meeting of this kind in this church. It is still more fortunate that we have speakers of national reputation who will present the cause of children to the people here to-night and to the greater public to-morrow. Those who will speak to you have acquired a familiarity with their subject by actual work rather than through study alone. Illinois has a good child labor law, but we are handicapped in the enforcement of it by the fact that there are only seven women inspectors and eleven men inspectors. Last year, however, over fifty-five thousand inspections were made, and by means of this department the school attendance in Chicago was increased eight thousand within the year. I believe that the next General Assembly will come to the aid of this department and enlarge it and enable us to appoint inspectors who will see that the children are protected in this state."

A large and enthusiastic audience welcomed the speakers whom the Governor introduced, the first of whom was Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, in whose church the meeting was held. Dr. Hirsch made the following brief address of welcome:

"This house has greeted often movements of great and deep importance for the community at large, as well as for the nation, but I dare say we had never the pleasure of being hosts at a movement that is nearer to our hearts than the one that will be presented to you to-night. In our own old literature the injunction is often repeated that the child shall not be burnt at the altar of Moloch. While no bones whiten to-day the Valley of Hinom, in Jerusalem, we cannot claim that the Moloch has to-day no altar and no shrines on this wide globe. Mines and mills, factories and fields are worshipping that old hideous idol and in the service of him, which is the service of selfishness, child life is sacrificed without concern, further than in calculation that it is profitable, in the sense in which profits are reckoned in business and in the market; but even in terms of commercial success child labor is most expensive. It is short sighted to claim that sound business principles are in favor of consuming these children at the shrine of the Moloch of commercial success. Our hill tops are bared to-day, and why? Because of our short sighted policy we have acted on the principle that the present generation need have no thought of those that come after. '*Après nous le deluge*;' if the deluge come after us what do we care, and we will engage in robber tactics, in countenancing the burning of children at the shrine of Moloch.

"These children are the future men and women; as they are so will be the nation. Stunted in their growth, deprived of mental development, immoralized, their souls touched by the fires of lust, their sense of human decency burnt away, these children will be the fathers and mothers of the next generation, and we all can easily foresee the result. Whatever be our policy of life, whether we believe that selfishness is finally decisive in the struggle that wages in every field of human activity, whether we believe that there is a higher law of responsibility that cannot be ignored, and if ignored will visit dire retribution on those that ignore it, or whether a tender sentiment touch our heart, we must, from whatever point of view we approach this question, agree that this Moloch service of children with the smoking fires and burning mines shall cease, and the sooner the better. Good business policy, good patriotism, humanity and submission to the highest law of morality demand that it shall cease."

The other addresses of the evening, by Professor Adler, Mr. Frost, Professors Lindsay and Taylor and Miss Addams, are all, except that of Professor Adler, published in full in this volume. The Committee of Arrangements for the Chicago meeting was composed of the following persons: Jane Addams, Chairman; Mrs. Emmons Blaine, Edgar T. Davies, Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, Stanley McCormick, Graham Taylor, Mrs. Harriet M. Van der Vaart.

At the closing session in Washington the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the National Child Labor Committee, Mr. Isaac N. Seligman, of New York, made a statement to the effect that about \$20,000 per annum would be necessary to carry on the propaganda planned by the National Committee. He spoke of the interest manifested by those who have written or who have sent money from quarters from which it was not expected. He

said that he believed that this amount of money and much more could be spent effectively in helping to lighten the burdens of childhood, and that it would come back many fold in the future. He closed with an appeal to those who are interested in this subject to enlist the active co-operation of every worker, and, if possible, of those who can give of their substance to the financial support of the work of the National Committee and of the several state and local committees.